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PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE TWO THOUSAND NINE HUNDRED AND FORTY-SIXTH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Monday, 8 October 1990, at 3 p.m.

President:	Sir David HANNAY	(United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland)
Members:	Canada	Mr. FORTIER
	China	Mr. LI Daoyu
	Colombia	Mr. PEÑALOSA
	Côte d'Ivoire	Mr. ANET
	Cuba	Mr. ALARCON de QUESADA
	Ethiopia	Mr. TADESSE
	Finland	Mr. TÖRNUDD
	France	Mr. BLANC
	Malaysia	Mr. RAZALI
	Romania	Mr. MUNTEANU
	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics	Mr. VORONTSOV
	United States of America	Mr. PICKERING
	Yemen	Mr. AL-ASHTAL
	Zaire	Mr. LUKABU KHABOUJI N'ZAJI

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The meeting was called to order at 3.45 p.m.

ADOPTION OF THE AGENDA

The agenda was adopted.

THE SITUATION IN THE OCCUPIED ARAB TERRITORIES

LETTER DATED 26 SEPTEMBER 1990 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF YEMEN TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL (S/21830)

The PRESIDENT: In accordance with the decisions taken at the 2945th meeting, I invite the representatives of Israel and the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya to take the places reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber. I invite the representative of Palestine to take a place at the Council table.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Bein (Israel) and Mr. Treiki (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber; Mr. Terzi (Palestine) took a place at the Council table.

The PRESIDENT: I should like to inform the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Algeria, Jordan, Tunisia and Yugoslavia in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Bendjama (Algeria), Mr. Salah (Jordan) Mr. Ghezal (Tunisia) and Mr. Silovic (Yugoslavia) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber.

The PRESIDENT: The Security Council will now resume its consideration of the item on its agenda. Members of the Council have received photocopies of a letter dated 8 October 1990, that is, today, from the Permanent Observer of Palestine to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council. A similar letter has been addressed to the Secretary-General and will be issued as a document of the Security Council under the symbol S/21850 at 0600 hours tomorrow.

Council members will have seen that we are resuming our meeting against the background of an outbreak of violence in Jerusalem which is profoundly shocking, and this will obviously have to be taken into account in our debate. Therefore I have agreed to the request of the Permanent Observer of Palestine to speak again at the start of this afternoon's proceedings. I have also agreed to the request of the Ambassador of Israel to speak again in the debate at a later stage.

The first speaker is the representative of Palestine, on whom I call.

Mr. TERZI (Palestine): We have all witnessed what was happening in the early hours of today in Jerusalem. We have seen it on television. The Secretary-General has issued a statement - which we appreciate - in which he says:

> "The Secretary-General has learned with grave concern of the violence which erupted today in the Old City of Jerusalem near holy sites sacred to both Muslims and Jews. According to initial press reports, 21 Palestinians were killed and 115 wounded; seven Israelis were also wounded.
>
> The Secretary-General is shocked and greatly dismayed by the bloodshed, and by what appears to have been an excessive use of force by the Israeli authorities. In his view, today's incidents are a tragic illustration of the dangers inherent in the stalemate that has far too long characterized the Israeli-Palestinian conflict." (SG/SM/4502)

(Mr. Terzi, Palestine)

I wish to thank the Secretary-General for having immediately expressed his great concern over such an incident, if it is an incident at all.

Mr. President, I have also received a message from our Palestinian brothers in the occupied territory and, with your permission, I shall read it. It is addressed to the members of the Security Council and it reads as follows:

"A group of religious zealots, supported by the Israeli Army, tried this morning to break into the Holy Sanctuary (Dome of the Rock and al-Aksa mosques), in order to lay down the foundation-stone for a Jewish temple. Apprized of their plans through the media, several tens of thousands of Moslems had gathered at the mosque to defend it against this sacrilege.

"The occupation troops, together with their armed religious invaders, clashed with the Moslems as soon as they entered the Sanctuary. The troops were supported by an armed helicopter, and in the massacre that followed, more than 23 Palestinians were killed, and hundreds were wounded.

"Soldiers used live ammunition as well as rubber bullets, very few tear-gas cannisters were fired. Live witnesses confirm that soldiers fired straight into the crowds.

"We believe that Israel is now beginning to implement its plan to take over the Holy Sanctuary of the Moslem world. Using the cover of the Gulf crisis, Shamir has already announced the plan to build yet another settlement in the heart of East Jerusalem. The Palestinian Arab population is being suffocated to death, not only physically, but also religiously.

"We repeat here our earlier plea for international intervention. We do not understand how oil in the Gulf can be valued more highly by you than Palestinian blood and Moslem rights and shrines; we do not understand how the Security Council can ignore our plea for protection when it is prepared to send troops to fight a war in the Gulf region.

(Mr. Terzi, Palestine)

"Once again, we issue a plea to the civilized world: Come to our protection before it is too late. Put an end to this process of annihilation. Protect us against Israeli soldiers, settlers, and armed religious zealots."

The names of the 23 who were martyred are the following: Fayez Hassan Abu Sneineh, aged 30; Hassan Ragheb Jamhour; Omar Ibrahim Nimr Dweik; Burhan Kashour; Ibrahim Ali Farhat; Ribhi Hassan Shehadeh Amouri, aged 50; Majdi Abu Sbeih, aged 18; Ali Zayed Alayan; Abdulkarim Khalil Warrad; Ibrahim Gharrab, aged 30; Nasser Moh'd Obeidat, aged 20; Yousef Abu Sneineh; Hassan Shehadeh Abed Rabo, aged 20; Ibrahim Sarhan; Muhammad Abed Hmeidat Taha, aged 17; Musa Sweiti; Moh'd A'rif Abu Sneineh; Um Ahmad Siam; Mazen AbdulRahim Warrad; Jad Moh'd Zahdeh, aged 21; Ayman El Shami; Maryam Hassan Zahran, aged 45; and Adnan Khalaf.

It is surprising that the Council rejected every single appeal by the Palestinian people to provide international protection because of one permanent member using a dictatorial Draconic power that prevents justice from being done and that prevents the Security Council from discharging its obligations and duties.

We would recall that on 31 May the Council had before it a draft containing a call for a fact-finding commission by members of this Council. We welcomed that opportunity. We thought it would represent a gateway into the process of seeking justice leading to peace.

(Mr. Terzi, Palestine)

Unfortunately, after many deliberations that started in May in Geneva when the Council was compelled to go and meet there, it all resulted in the end in a veto by a permanent member, the representative of the Government of the United States.

Our people still maintain their faith and trust in the Council, but as they say here, they would like to see the Council move. They would like to see the Council provide international protection. They would like to see the Council react as resolutely as it did in other cases when it comes to the issue of respecting and carrying out decisions of the Security Council. The Council is not really acting or permitted to act. Putting it a different way, the Council is prevented from acting and from invoking its own powers.

Again, what our people expect is an immediate dispatch of a commission by the Council to investigate what happened in Jerusalem. We cannot forget at all that, way back in April, a similar thing happened at the Christian shrines when the Patriarch of Jerusalem was beaten, pushed to the ground, and the cross he had been carrying was broken. The Council did meet then, but no action was taken. The Council is permitting Israel simply to run things the way it thinks best, counting primarily on the support it gets from a permanent member of the Council.

Of course, in English criminal law, that member is an accessory before the fact in the commission of that crime. At this stage, when the Council has lately shown itself united in its respect for its obligations under the Charter, our people believe that the time has come when, on the issue of respecting human rights, the Council will spare us more bloodshed and move in the direction - the correct direction - of peace; that the Council will again permit a pacifying move; and that the Council will determine to dispatch a commission, if not today or yesterday, perhaps on the first flight tomorrow, to go there and come back with a report.

(Mr. Terzi, Palestine)

That is the road to peace. I am afraid that if the Council should turn them down, they will lose faith in the Council. We trust that the Council will decide on and undertake such a step, and we are sure that the Secretary-General will be more than available to provide the facilities that the Council members need.

The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of Israel. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. BEIN (Israel): The Council was last convened on Friday, 5 October. In my statement then, I described the motives harboured by the PLO in convening the Security Council. Not one of those motives was justified.

Friday was the day that marked the opening shot in the new PLO drive, a service rendered to its patron, Saddam Hussein, to refocus the attention of the international community away from the Iraqi aggression. In so doing, the PLO has attempted to contrive a big diversion by claiming that a deterioration of the situation is in progress in Judea, Samaria and Gaza, in order to divert attention, specifically in the Arab world, from its despicable co-operation and collusion in the aggression of Saddam Hussein against a fellow Arab State and Israel, and to abet Saddam Hussein in his efforts to derail the united front that has mobilized against him. Furthermore, the Security Council is used by the PLO as a forum in which to breathe new life into the moribund unrest, and as a primer or curtain raiser for the November debate on the question of Palestine.

It has happened here today as was forecast. The PLO has got what it wanted. It has managed to touch off a deterioration in the situation in the territories. In the tradition of the Grand Mufti and the systematic Arab riots in Jerusalem in the 1920s, in the spirit of attacking Jews on their most venerated holy days, of the mass murder attempts on Israel's beaches during the Jewish holy day of Shavuot, or the heinous murder of Jewish worshippers in the Istanbul synagogue in 1986, a

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(Mr. Bein, Israel)

premeditated ambush was perpetrated today against thousands of Jewish worshippers at the Western Wall, the most holy place to the Jewish people, on the Jewish holy day of Tabernacles.

This morning, at 10.45 a.m. local time, as thousands of Jewish worshippers converged on the Western Wall on the occasion of the holy day, thousands of Arabs stormed from the direction of the mosque on the Temple Mount towards the boundary bordering the Western Wall, and from that high point began to attack the thousands of Jewish worshippers in the square below them with a barrage of stones, enormous rocks and other heavy objects. The torrent of flying débris was very intense, injuring 20 Jewish worshippers.

The attack was very well organized, being a complete surprise with no prior provocation or warning. Israeli police and border guards rushed to the scene and tried to repel the rioters with rubber bullets and tear gas. At the same time, hundreds of youths stormed the police station on the Temple Mount with cries of jihad - "holy war" - and Allah akbar - "God is great" - while the muezzin goaded and incited the mob with loudspeakers. The attackers burned the police station to the ground. The police tried to defend the thousands of Jewish worshippers and their own forces from the rampaging crowd with the use of tear gas and rubber bullets and in the face of clear and immediate danger to their lives, with live ammunition as a last resort.

The mass assault was unprecedented in force, in its outburst of hatred, and in the threat it posed to the thousands of worshippers and the police. There is no doubt that that incitement was a premeditated provocation. Large stores of rocks and flammable material prepared beforehand were discovered at the scene. Moreover, the very fact that thousands of Arab youths assembled on the Temple Mount on a Monday, which is not a day of Moslem mass worship nor at a time prescribed for prayer, confirms the premeditated intent of the riot's instigators.

(Mr. Bein, Israel)

Not by coincidence, Monday was the target date, being a day on which thousands of Jewish worshippers were expected at the Western Wall. Today's incident only confirms that what I said in my statement on Friday is true. The only ones who gloat and will try to profit from that sad incident are the PLO and Saddam Hussein. It is the cannon-fodder of the big diversion. I would like to remind the Council that this session was convened prior to this latest development, during a long period of calm in the territories. It is clear to anyone privy to the nature of the PLO that that organization was not happy with a return to normalcy.

(Mr. Bein, Israel)

This incident, and today's session, prove that the PLO has no qualms or inhibitions that prevent it from cynically exploiting the shedding of blood to further its goals, no matter who is killed and why.

Israel expresses shock and sorrow at the loss of life and the injuries on all sides that resulted from this morning's riot on the Temple Mount in Jerusalem. I would like to share with you the words of the mayor of Jerusalem, Mr. Teddy Kollek. He said:

"We must preserve a sense of balance in this city. An attack on a Jewish holy place cannot be countenanced any more than an attack on a Christian or Muslim holy site. We in Jerusalem must understand that a lack of sensitivity and understanding about the complexity of life here can only bring damage, and any expectation of a one-sided solution can never be fulfilled.

"If it proves true that the background for today's rioting was a rumour about a fringe group laying a corner-stone for the Third Temple on the Temple Mount, I have many times condemned what I see as a dangerous and foolish intention, which, let me add, has been forbidden by Israel's High Court. No side has the right to take the law into its own hands. I have deep apprehension about the uses I expect Saddam Hussein will make of this."

May I add the words of the President of Israel, Mr. Chaim Herzog, who said:

"Today's tragic event at the Temple Mount greatly emphasizes the delicate situation at that holy site, where the Israeli Government has succeeded in maintaining the necessary balance and freedom of worship over the years. The pre-planned attack perpetrated by Muslim extremists today was intended to disrupt the delicate balance at the site and constituted a criminal attempt to strike at the Jewish public freedom of worship and religion. We regret the

(Mr. Bein, Israel)

loss of life resulting from unbridled incitement against peaceful Jewish worshippers. Leaders on both sides are called to the supreme effort of restoring order and calm."

It is my assumption, and I hope that all of us here - with the exception of the PLO - aspire to maintain a situation which is not one of deterioration but of calm, an atmosphere which will be conducive to peaceful negotiations. Radical statements in the Security Council will not advance the prospects of peace. We would not allow the Security Council to be exploited as a forum for incitement.

The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. TREIKI (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) (interpretation from Arabic): The representative of Algeria will speak today on behalf of the countries of the Arab Maghreb and the countries of the Arab Maghreb Union. However, I should like on my own behalf to congratulate you, Mr. President, the Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, and to wish you success in presiding over the Security Council's work this month. I also wish to congratulate Mr. Vorontzov, the Permanent Representative of the Soviet Union, on his constructive handling of the work of the Council last month.

We meet today at the request of the State of Palestine to consider the chronic problem that has been with us for the past four decades, namely, the problem of the Palestinian people, who have been displaced from their land, whose rights have been violated and who live either in tattered tents or under the bayonets of Zionist occupation.

While we deliberate this question the blood of Palestinians is being shed on the steps of the Al-Aqsa Mosque in Jerusalem. Israeli authorities and Zionist

(Mr. Treiki, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya)

settlers have perpetrated a horrendous massacre in the course of which dozens of Palestinian women and children have been killed and hundreds have been injured.

Is there a greater challenge than this to the will of the international community? Can a greater arrogance be imagined? You have just heard for yourselves in the statement of the representative of Israel the heights that arrogance can reach. What he said here can only be regarded as an insult to the Council and to the will of the international community as a whole.

But now, the question is this: what are we to do now? Shall we condemn and denounce? Will that be enough? And even if we do condemn and denounce, will that be enough to protect the Palestinians and spare their lives?

There is nothing new in what is happening now and what happened yesterday, nor will this be the last act of genocide to be perpetrated by the Israeli occupation forces. And what will the supporters of the Zionist entity say now, as they provide weapons of mass destruction and billions of dollars to that entity? What will those who shore up that régime say? What sort of logic will shape their thinking now?

And what action will the Security Council take in facing up to the situation? A shy retiring draft resolution perhaps? That will never do. The Zionists have violated the holy shrines of Islam. They have profaned the holy places of more than a billion Muslims, just exactly as they violated Christian shrines and insulted millions of Christians around the world not so long ago.

The actions of the Israelis are too horrible for words. We are at a loss for words that may describe those actions. However, that is and will always be the nature of occupation and aggression.

(Mr. Treiki, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya)

More than at any time in the past, the Security Council must act logically and self-consistently. It can not employ a double standard, nor can it be selective in its resolutions.

Some may raise a question - indeed, the representative of the Zionist entity himself has raised it already: why is this issue being raised now, especially in the circumstances which now exist in the Gulf region and pose the threat of a war that would wreak total destruction? Some may even think that this is a valid acceptable question. Or, maybe, they would ask another question: why is this issue being raised by the Palestinians, given the existing circumstances? Is it to draw attention, or is it a political manoeuvre?

The Jerusalem massacre answers such questions. The answer to those questions is also implicit in the so-called new spirit which, we have been told, pervades international relations and stems from the awakening of the world conscience that has taken place over the past few weeks, particularly among the great Powers.

(Mr. Treiki, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya)

The cold war, we were told, has ended and international détente is with us. To us, the small States and peoples of the world, this has been welcome news. We were victims of the cold war. Our countries were an arena for competition between the super-Powers, and, indeed, test sites for their weapons of mass destruction. We fell victims to the policy of polarization and the arms race. We want this détente to succeed. However, we want it to be a real détente, and not a détente among elephants, the price of whose conflict or conciliation is paid by the grass they trample under foot.

This international policy has nurtured the hopes of oppressed peoples and States suffering from regional wars and occupation, including the Palestinian people.

A few days ago, the Security Council unanimously adopted several resolutions on the occupation of Kuwait. Those resolutions, which included the application of Chapter VII of the Charter, were adopted without any veto. Fleets and forces were dispatched to implement Security Council resolutions. For us, this augured well, even though we believe that those forces should be placed under the command of the United Nations, in compliance with the same Charter and in application of Article 42 of its Chapter VII.

To tell you the truth, we had forgotten that there exists such a chapter in the Charter. It had been ignored for such a long time. I do not think that I reveal a secret when I declare that I started to do my homework. I read the Charter in a number of languages to make sure that I was reading the United Nations Charter and not any other charter. This was the self-same Charter that we had repeatedly invoked in the hope of deterring aggression or rejecting occupation. However, it was as if we were crying in the wilderness. All we could hear in reply was the echo of our own voices.

(Mr. Treiki, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya)

We went through a phase wherein even the words "condemn" or "denounce" were taboo whenever the issue we were addressing had to do with the Zionist entity. Some States, it seemed, did not want to hurt Israel's feelings. When we asked for condemnation, we were told that the condemnation should be even-handed and include both the aggressor and the victim of aggression: both the child whose bones were broken and the foreign soldier who broke the child's bones, because the child committed a crime when he said that he wanted to live in freedom. The Palestinian child commits a crime when he wants freedom.

Frankly speaking, we are very happy that this awakening of conscience has overtaken the world and we are happy that there has been détente. Because we have always harboured good intentions, we believed that the same criterion applied to the occupation of Kuwait would be applied to the Israeli occupation of Palestine. We were also pleased to hear anew certain expressions which we had forgotten - such as "unconditional withdrawal", or "the aggressor will never be rewarded", "opposing oppression", and "reject the occupation of lands by force". We even heard the expression "reject the policy of annexation". We had become accustomed to that policy of annexation. It had been applied to often and never denounced, condemned or deterred, that we became used to it. "The Golan Heights were annexed." "Jerusalem was annexed" and indeed "the policy of settlement and mass expulsions of the Palestinian people" continued unabated. In all this, the Security Council did not adopt a resolution of condemnation. The Security Council, in actual fact, did not contemplate the application of Chapter VII of the Charter. But let us say that this was in the past. Let us say that there is new hope. And let us hope that with this new hope those criteria will not do their disappearing act again and that Chapter VII of the Charter will remain Chapter VII of the Charter, that

(Mr. Treiki, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya)

international law will remain the same law and, that the Charter of the United Nations will remain unchanged, and will continue to include its Chapter VII.

The only thing that we used to hear from the Charter was Article 51, and that only when it became necessary to invoke it, as has been done time and time again, to justify aggression or occupation. It has been rightly said that it is the powerful that interpret the law as they wish, or, as the French proverb puts it: "la raison du plus fort est toujours la meilleure". However, the collapse of dictatorships in Eastern Europe, the emergency of democracies, the destruction of the Berlin Wall and the unification of the divided German people, which we celebrated during the last two days, and with the beginning of the end of the cold war, we begin to hope. We do not want that hope to turn into disappointment, but we hope that the law will be applied to all, that aggression will be deterred irrespective of who the aggressor is, that we will agree to reject the occupation of lands by force, wherever those lands may be, and reject the annexation of lands even when it is the land of the Palestinians. We hope that the settlement of accounts and the ringing down of the curtain on the tragedies of the Second World War and its problems will not be confined to Europe, but will also include the Palestinian problem.

In addressing the Council more than once in the past on this very question, I maintained that the principles and rules of law should be our yardstick and not the policy of alliances, special interests or the considerations relating to domestic elections. Principles and rules of law should shape our postures and political decisions. Today, we face this very test. We have applied Chapter VII against Iraq; we have mobilized armies and navies to implement our resolutions, which we support. However, we want to make certain that these forces and fleets that were

(Mr. Treiki, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya)

dispatched to the region of the Gulf to apply and uphold the law were dispatched not merely to safeguard vital interests or to ensure the flow of "black gold".

We want the same logic to be applied in the same manner to the Israeli aggression against the Palestinian people, to the Israeli occupation of Jerusalem, the Golan Heights and Southern Lebanon. We want recognition of the fact that the Palestinians too are human beings, that they have the right to self-determination and that they are not less than their cousins.

If the right to emigrate is guaranteed under international law as a right enshrined in democracy, then organized mass emigration to colonize the territories of others, as is the case in Palestine, runs counter to international law and accepted norms. It is merely a form of settler colonialism. We have been told that the right of Palestinians to defend their nation was terrorism, even international terrorism that should be fought by all. On the other hand, we have been told that the policy of Israeli occupation, colonization, the murder of children, the displacement of women and the demolition of homes should never be condemned, and that the veto should be used for the purpose of protecting it from condemnation. Today, we wonder whether anybody can still say that and by what logic can they justify it. We want to convince ourselves as Arabs and as Palestinian Arabs that we too belong to the human race. We want to convince ourselves that this new awakening of conscience in the world does include us, that the same criteria should be applied throughout the world to all human beings, irrespective of their colour or religious beliefs.

(Mr. Treiki, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya)

In his address to the General Assembly, President Mitterrand of France said,

"But now let us look at ourselves. We too must ask questions and answer questions that are arising everywhere. So many previous resolutions of the Security Council have remained dead letters - the result, I like to believe, of the mutual neutralization caused by the East-West antagonism, which condemned the Near and Middle East to a kind of war of positions - a ruinous, desperate war. That situation has today, and with some reason, nourished the Arab world's criticism of this sudden diligence of the United Nations in regard to Iraq. And it is true that in this shortcoming there is an unfortunate element that somewhat undercuts the real authority of our recent decisions. But we are united in our belief" with respect to circumstances like the one about which the Council is meeting today "that law and justice should be the same for all - in principle and in effect". (A/45/PV.4, pp. 42-45)

My country has clearly declared its rejection of the occupation of Kuwait and of any consequences that may arise from that occupation. We have called for the withdrawal of the Iraqi forces, and I reiterate that call today before the Council. We have also reaffirmed our commitment to Security Council resolutions, but we want the great Powers to apply the same criteria to the Palestinian people, whose land has been occupied and whose people have been displaced. Occupation is occupation, invasion is invasion, aggression is aggression whether in Panama, Afghanistan, Grenada, Palestine, Lebanon, Libya or Kuwait.

When we say this, we have no wish to complicate international problems or link them. Members know how we suffered for years on this Council when Namibia's independence was linked to the withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola. Namibia's

(Mr. Treiki, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya)

independence was delayed for many years because of that linkage, which was rejected by the whole of the international community. Whenever we said "No" to that linkage, it was insisted upon none the less. Now it is not logical to say that the policy of linkage is acceptable in South Africa and unacceptable in the Arab region.

In his address to the General Assembly, which we applauded, United States President Bush spoke of a world where peace and prosperity would reign, a world that would be without weapons of destruction. We hope that that can come true. But we hope it will apply to the entire world, including Palestine and South Africa. President Bush said the following:

(spoke in English)

> "We have a vision of a new partnership of nations that transcends the cold war - a partnership based on consultation, co-operation and collective action, especially through international and regional nations; a partnership united by principle and the rule of law, and supported by an equitable sharing of both cost and commitment; a partnership whose goals are to increase democracy, increase prosperity, increase the peace, and reduce arms."
>
> (A/45/PV.14, p. 68)

(continued in Arabic)

We would be very pleased if that could be achieved at the international level. We have been pleased with what has been achieved this year and the last: Namibia has attained its independence; peace prevails in most parts of Central America; Nelson Mandela and his colleagues have been released; the end of the policies of apartheid seems imminent; and action is being taken to achieve peace in Cambodia. We have great hope that justice and peace will be achieved in the Arab region as well and that the Palestinian people, like any other people, will be enabled to exercise their right of self-determination.

(Mr. Treiki, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya)

Over the past few weeks, the Security Council has displayed a unity of both vision and joint action. We hope the Council will do the same with respect to the question of the Palestinian people. We have seen the five permanent member States work in an organized manner; the word "veto" has not been heard once in this Council in the past few weeks. We sincerely hope the word "veto" has been deleted from the Council's dictionary for all time.

Let us begin true collective action through the United Nations and its organizations to resolve international disputes. Let us show solidarity so that peace, security and justice may prevail throughout the world.

I propose that the Council devote one or more meetings to discussing its unimplemented resolutions and adopting ways and means to ensure their implementation.

The people of Palestine have come to the Security Council today to assure you that they are a people and that they deserve to live. They have come in the hope that the awakening of the human conscience, along with the principles and the Charter of the United Nations, will apply to them as well.

A settlement of the Middle East problem deserves to be given more attention than ever before; peace and justice are not susceptible of partial achievement. Peace will not prevail so long as there are oppressed peoples deprived of their fundamental rights.

The events in the Gulf region highlight the importance of achieving peace and justice in the Arab region. President Bush also said in his address to the Assembly,

(Mr. Treiki, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya)

(spoke in English)

"Can we work together in a new partnership of nations? Can the collective strength of the world community, expressed by the United Nations, unite to deter and defeat aggression?" (A/45/PV.14, pp. 63-65)

(continued in Arabic)

President Bush answered his own question in that same address, saying that

(spoke in English)

"the world's key task - now, first and always - must be to demonstrate that aggression will not be tolerated or rewarded". (p. 67)

(continued in Arabic)

We hope that this applies to all the regions of the world, not just the Gulf region.

Applying Chapter VII of the same Charter to Israel's aggression and its occupation of Arab and Palestinian territories should be undertaken with the same determination, and in the same way: through collective international action. In that way we can truly achieve peace in the world and work together to eradicate disease, poverty and hunger. We should act together in an altruistic manner to alleviate the suffering of people, and we should devote funds spent on arms and destruction to combatting hunger, poverty and disease and to achieving prosperity for the entire human race.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya for the kind words he addressed to me.

Mr. VORONTSOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (interpretation from Russian): I should like first of all to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council, and to express our conviction that your

(Mr. Vorontsov, USSR)

rich political experience and high professional qualities will guarantee dynamic and effective work in the Council for the month of October. I assure you that you can count on the full co-operation of the Soviet delegation.

I wish also to take this opportunity, Sir, to express our appreciation and gratitude to you and the other members of the Council for the warm words addressed to my Foreign Minister, Mr. Eduard Shevardnadze, and to my delegation in connection with our presidency of the Security Council for the month of September.

(Mr. Vorontsov, USSR)

Today the Security Council is continuing its consideration of the situation in the occupied Arab territories. We followed closely the important statement made at our meeting on Friday, 5 October, by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Palestine, Mr. Kaddoumi. He gave the Council a broad picture of the worsening situation in the occupied territories - the sharp increase in tensions there and the actions of the Israeli authorities in flagrant violation of the 1949 Geneva Convention on the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War. Ambassador Diallo, the Chairman of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, in her detailed statement on the same day, gave the Council convincing evidence of Israel's unlawful activities.

Nevertheless, as we have just been told by the Observer of Palestine, the situation in the occupied territories has now taken a serious turn for the worse. Blood has been shed in Jerusalem. Twenty-three Palestinians have been killed and almost 200 have been wounded. According to information we have received, Israeli troops have not allowed Palestinians who want to give blood to enter the hospitals. The Soviet Union strongly condemns these provocative, inhuman activities on the part of Israel.

All these facts convince us even more that the situation in the occupied territories is taking a course that is extremely dangerous and has incalculable consequences.

The Soviet Union supported Yemen's request for urgent consideration by the Security Council of the situation in the occupied Arab territories. The aim of today's discussion in the Council should not be merely to ensure that Israel scrupulously fulfils its obligations under the 1949 Geneva Convention: we need also to take effective measures to ensure the safety of the people living in the occupied territories.

(Mr. Vorontsov, USSR)

The present situation is the result of a further flagrant violation by Israel of international legal norms in those occupied territories. A large number of Palestinians have died. The Security Council should express its unconditional condemnation of this situation and should take swift and firm measures in connection with it. We should act decisively.

In conclusion, I should like to state the following:

We cannot but express our regret that the negative trends that have emerged in the occupied territories not only have not been reversed but have become worse. A political process - the only way by which the aspirations of the Palestinians can be achieved - has not yet been initiated.

I do not need to set forth here the Soviet Union's position on the problems relating to a Middle East settlement. That position is well known; it has been repreatedly stated in the Security Council and in the General Assembly. It was set forth most recently at a meeting of the General Assembly on 25 September in a statement by our Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Eduard Shevardnadze.

We regard the immediate achievement of a comprehensive, just and lasting peace as the final objective of a settlement.

I would also draw attention to a joint statement made by the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the five permanent members of the Security Council on 28 September 1990. That joint statement, issued as document S/21835, once again sets forth the ways and means of finding a solution to the Middle East conflict. The Foreign Ministers

"expressed their deep concern at the aggravation of tensions in the Middle East. They reaffirmed their determination to support an active negotiating process in which all relevant parties would participate, leading to a comprehensive, just and lasting peace. They agreed that such negotiations

(Mr. Vorontsov, USSR)

should be based on resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973) of the Security Council and should take into account the right to security of all States in the region, including Israel, and the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people." (S/21835, p.3)

In our view, that expresses the aspirations of all the people of the Middle East.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of the Soviet Union for his kind words about the presidency.

Mr. PEÑALOSA (Colombia) (interpretation from Spanish): We are very pleased to see a representative of the United Kingdom presiding over the Security Council's work during this month of October. His country's experience as a permanent member of the Council has contributed to more thorough consideration of various issues of concern to the international community. The bonds between our two countries date from the very beginning of our history. We shall never be able to forget that thousands of British citizens joined Colombian revolutionary forces and helped us obtain our independence, or that hundreds of them died in this undertaking. These bonds have been maintained, and indeed become even closer, with the passage of time. They are reflected in the excellent relations between our two peoples and Governments.

We are convinced, Mr. President, that your diplomatic talents and experience will facilitate the work of this body, in which the world has placed its hopes for international peace and security.

We wish also to express our thanks to Ambassador Vorontsov for the intelligence and wisdom he showed in carrying out his task as President of the Council last month.

(Mr. Peñalosa, Colombia)

The end of the so-called cold war has brought in its train important changes in international relations. New values have emerged, new approaches are being taken to the consideration of common problems. There is a resurgence of hope for a better future based on confidence and trust in those who, because of their historical role as protagonists, have a responsibility recognized by the community of nations. This applies, of course, to the five permanent members of the Security Council.

With the emergence of this new political climate, disputes and situations of tension face in the Security Council a kind of legal, political and moral barrier to contain them, and one of the appropriate means for solving them. There is no excuse for members of this body not measuring up to the requirements of particular circumstances. Indeed, they have measured up in connection with the crisis in the Persian Gulf: they have responded with determination and decisiveness, giving effective proof that détente is more than an abstract political concept, that it is the real sum of the will and the efforts placed at the service of just causes, in the common interest.

The situation in the occupied Palestinian territories has tested the capacity and credibility of this body and the real benefits of détente. Hence, we urge the members of the Council, and especially its permanent members, to promote a thorough consideration of the events in the occupied territories and their history. Many efforts have been made to achieve a just and worthy solution by the parties, but it cannot be said that the question has been solved or even that there has been an improvement.

(Mr. Peñalosa, Colombia)

Colombia supported the relevant resolutions on the Persian Gulf, and we reiterate our respect for resolutions 242 (1967), 338 (1973) and 465 (1980), compliance with which would restore concord in a region thrown into a state of upheaval because of violations of the rights of nationals there. Today we have learned with deep distress of the terrible events that occurred this morning in Jerusalem, where more than 24 Palestinians lost their lives and more than 150 were wounded.

Obviously it would be unrealistic to link the problems of the Gulf with Palestine in the search for a common solution, but the fact must be faced that the Palestine situation will be a factor in whatever agreement is reached.

In both cases we are witnessing flagrant violations of the most elementary principles of international law, namely the use of force, violations of sovereignty and territorial integrity, violations of human rights, failure to comply with mutually accepted obligations such as the Fourth Geneva Convention Relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War and many other agreements I shall not list for it would make my statement too long.

My delegation cannot go along with the idea that there are such things as "good invasions". We cannot say that in one case the pain, humiliation and death of those invaded justifies world concern and that in other cases we can simply be spectators over the decades, without there being the slightest trace of human sensitivity on our faces.

We must show the world that détente does produce good results and that we, like Saint George astride his steed, can face mankind's challenges and defeat evil and preserve the faith of our peoples in their leaders and institutions.

Finally, my delegation wishes once again to express its support for the convening of an international peace conference on the Middle East under the auspices of the United Nations in which Palestine would participate on an equal

(Mr. Peñalosa, Colombia)

footing with the other parties in keeping with the resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly on the question of Palestine.

We support all the efforts the Security Council may make to reactivate the search for a broad, just and lasting settlement that will protect the interests of the Israeli and Palestinian peoples and cement peace in the region.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Colombia for his generous words about the United Kingdom's presidency of the Council.

Mr. RAZALI (Malaysia): Mr. President, I offer you my felicitations on your assumption of the presidency for this month. Even in a very short time you have amply demonstrated your skills and leadership qualities.

I should also like to express my delegation's appreciation to Ambassador Vorontsov, President of the Council for the month of September, who conducted the business of the Council extremely well and with experienced hands despite numerous difficulties.

Four months and 12 days ago, the Security Council met in Geneva to consider the question of the situation in the occupied territories. That was a serious business, not a theatrical show. At that meeting, the Israeli representative rejected the right of the Council to meet on the question of Palestine, dismissing it altogether as a charade. Last Friday, the Israeli representative charged that these meetings of the Council are being held to accommodate the theatrics of the representatives of Palestine, which he said are repeated annually at this time of the year, and, as he put it,

> "by shoving Israel to the fore, thereby throwing a monkey-wrench into the workings of the solid front opposing Iraq and halting it in its tracks". (S/PV.2945, pp. 28-30)

(Mr. Razali, Malaysia)

Today Israel's representative is doing it again. He accused the Palestine Liberation Organization of contriving an incident in Jerusalem, where, if we follow his logic, the PLO allowed 22 Palestinians to be killed in order to derail the international solidarity against Iraq.

Let us be very clear. This Council is meeting again on Palestine because the issue remains explosive and critical. Even supporters of Israel, inside or outside the Council, cannot be so blind or cavalier as to think otherwise.

The British Foreign Secretary, Mr. Douglas Hurd, on 4 October, in London, in urging Israel to negotiate a Middle East peace, stated:

> "Anyone with a sense of humanity must sympathize with the Palestinians. Their lands are occupied, they have no political rights and they are daily the victims of a misguided policy which believes that the security of Israel must rest on closed schools, illegitimate settlements and even collective punishments."

This Council is meeting again because more atrocities are being committed by Israel. Today, in a shocking development, 22 Palestinians were killed and almost 200 others wounded in Jerusalem, underlining further the urgent need for this Council to take concrete action. The Israeli representative's response to this incident is to highlight other issues in the Middle East. But Israel cannot in the least erase the fact that it remains in occupation of Palestinian and Arab territories, that Israel remains bound by and obligated to the principles of international law, and that it should comply with the various Security Council resolutions, and that it must heed the international appeals regarding its administrative and military conduct in the occupied territories. The truth is that

(Mr. Razali, Malaysia)

Israel remains culpable for the various actions taken against the Palestinians. Until and unless such policies and practices cease, Israel deserves the strongest condemnation of the Council and the international community.

The Israeli representative claimed last Friday that "Israel's policy of restraint has brought about a drastic reduction in the level of violence" (S/PV.2945, p. 36) in the occupied territories. He also said, "On the contrary, the situation is more peaceful than at any other point in time since December 1987." (ibid.) Such claims as these, designed clearly to elicit sympathy and kudos for Israel, strike the Malaysian delegation as a new low for Israeli propaganda, smacking of cynicism and turning events on their head. When you close the gates of mercy on people, let your soldiers harass and humiliate them, and then smack satisfaction that you have drastically reduced the level of violence by your policy of restraint, something must be seriously wrong with your national credo and the values of your society.

In the light of today's incident, Israel's policy of "restraint" is indeed a bloody one.

Nothing is more distasteful to the Malaysian delegation than to see the Israeli representative making hay, dancing on the agonies of others, using Iraqi aggression on Kuwait to polish up, bright and shining, Israel's so-called good-boy image. Today's incident in Jerusalem puts a dark blot on that image.

Israel and its friends must not be allowed to confuse the situation and masquerade behind what the Israeli representative described in his statement as "the international coalition mustered against Iraqi aggression". In the same statement, the representative ironically uttered these words:

(Mr. Razali, Malaysia)

"The Security Council has attained unprecedented unity, enabling it to be the standard-bearer in the global drive to face up to the aggressor." (S/PV.2945, p. 26)

Should it not be obvious to him that the Security Council would act with unanimity and be the standard-bearer against all aggressors, including Israel? Or does Israel hope that its friends will continue to prevent the achievement of such unity in the Council?

(Mr. Razali, Malaysia)

At this point may I say that if I were a supporter of Israel I should begin to have very serious misgivings. When the Council met in Geneva the Israeli representative imperiously rejected the Council's right to apply the 1949 Fourth Geneva Convention in respect to Israel. Last Friday the Israeli representative saw it all as one "Big Lie". (S/PV.2945, p. 27) Today, despite the incident in Jerusalem, the Israeli representative continues to be obdurate and uncompromising. Are there not enough reasons for supporters of Israel seriously to worry where Israel is going, flushed with an overweening sense of invincibility and superiority?

The Security Council must take itself out of its self-imposed paralysis on the Palestinian question. Even as it grapples with the Gulf crisis, however critical, it cannot ignore the Palestinian issue, which is recognized by all as the core issue in the Middle East. The Council has spoken from the principled high ground of authority on the Iraqi aggression; it can do no less on the Palestinian issue. There can be no justification for the argument that the time is not right. Must thousands of Palestinians continue to languish under Israel's illegal control because the time is not right, according to certain countries?

The Security Council must clearly and unambiguously condemn and even penalize Israel for its continued transgressions of international law and persistent mistreatment of the Palestinian people. Today's incident is an appalling reminder. The Council cannot ignore these serious violations in the light of developments in the region. The Council cannot allow obstacles erected by any member of the Council to stand in the way of what must rightly be done. To do so would mean that the Council was allowing double standards to prevail over justice and considerations of principle. It must face up to its responsibility squarely, and not allow inaction to work to the detriment of the ascendancy of a new world

(Mr. Razali, Malaysia)

order, as envisaged by many a leader of the General Assembly during the past two weeks. There must be a rightful place for the Palestinians in this new world order.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Malaysia for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. LI Daoyu (China) (interpretation from Chinese): At the outset, Sir, I wish to congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month. I am convinced that your diplomatic talent and rich experience will ensure the successful accomplishment of the Council's heavy tasks this month. I should also like to express my thanks to Ambassador Vorontsov of the Soviet Union, who skilfully and effectively led the Council to the fulfilment of its heavy workload last month and in particular to the success in preparing and organizing the Security Council meeting at the ministerial level.

At the request of the Arab States, we have started this meeting to consider once again the situation in the occupied Palestinian territory. Since the beginning of this year the Security Council has on many occasions carried out consultations and discussions on this question. An urgent meeting of the Security Council was held in Geneva late in May. However, it is regrettable to note that the recent situation in the occupied Palestinian territory has remained turbulent. The Israeli occupying authorities, instead of reducing their suppression of Palestinian residents, have committed more atrocities. The situation of the Palestinian residents has been further aggravated. The development of the situation in the Palestinian refugee camps of the Gaza Strip and, particularly, the massacre of more than 20 Palestinian residents in Jerusalem today are outstanding examples. All this cannot but arouse great concern and strong indignation from the international community.

(Mr. Li Daoyu, China)

The Chinese delegation strongly condemns the Israeli authorities for their acts of suppression of the Palestinian people, and calls on the Israeli occupying authorities to comply strictly with the Fourth Geneva Convention so as to guarantee the safety of the Palestinian residents in the occupied territory. Since the current situation is extremely serious, we earnestly urge the international community to take urgent and effective measures to stop the illegal acts of the Israeli authorities in order to protect, in a practical manner, the life and property of the Palestinian residents in the occupied territory. We favour immediate, necessary actions by the Security Council in this regard.

The grave crisis in the Gulf urgently demands a solution. Nevertheless, we should not forget the importance of promoting the peace process in the Middle East and seeking a fair, reasonable and comprehensive settlement of the Middle East question. That question has remained unsolved for more than 40 years, and almost three years have passed since the uprising by the heroic Palestinian people started. The Palestine Liberation Organization and other Arab countries and the international community have made enormous efforts towards this end, and the Security Council has adopted many resolutions. Regrettably, the Israeli Government still refuses to recognize the national rights of the Palestinian people and give up the Arab territories under its occupation. As a result, the dawn of peace in the Middle East still cannot be seen.

In recent years some regional conflicts in the world have embarked on the road of political settlement, but the peace process of the Middle East question has come to a halt. The Middle East question is closely linked with world peace, and the Palestinian question is the core of the Middle East question. As long as the Palestinian question remains unsolved, there can be neither lasting peace in the Middle East region nor peace and tranquillity in the world. Therefore, it is time for the international community to ponder seriously and take practical steps to

(Mr. Li Daoyu, China)

seek a solution of the Middle East question. We hope that the unanimity and effectiveness shown by the Security Council recently will provide us with new opportunities to solve the Middle East question, and particularly the Palestinian question.

The Chinese Government and people always sympathize with and support the Palestinian and other Arab peoples in their struggle to recover their lost lands and restore their legitimate national rights. We support their reasonable proposals for a fair settlement of the Middle East question. We call upon the parties concerned in the Middle East and the international community to continue their efforts to promote the development of the Middle East peace process. The Chinese Government favours a political settlement of the Middle East question, which should provide for Israeli withdrawal from all Arab territories under its occupation, mutual recognition of the State of Palestine and the State of Israel, and peaceful coexistence between the Arab and Jewish peoples. We urge the Israeli Government to go with the tide of historical development and change its rigid position.

We hope that the relevant parties to the Middle East question will continue their dialogue. We support the convocation of an international conference on the Middle East question, sponsored by the United Nations, with the participation of the five permanent members of the Security Council and the relevant parties to the conflict, with a view to seeking a fair and reasonable solution to the Palestinian question. We also support the Security Council's making its due contribution to the settlement of the Middle East question. China is willing to work with other members of the Council to this end.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of China for his words about the presidency, which were most generous.

Mr. BLANC (France) (interpretation from French): Sir, first of all I should like to convey to you, on my own behalf and on behalf of my delegation, warmest congratulations on the assumption by the United Kingdom of the presidency for this month. I should like also to avail myself of this opportunity to congratulate my colleague, Mr. Vorontsov, on presiding over our work during the month of September and organizing the work of the Council at the ministerial level with such great success.

Once again our Council is meeting to consider the situation in the occupied territories, which has worsened considerably in the past three weeks, a situation which has taken a particularly tragic turn with the bloodshed that occurred today in Jerusalem.

The attention of our Council had originally been drawn to an incident which took place in the Palestinian camp at el-Bureij, where an Israeli soldier had met with a horrible death, and to the collective reprisals carried out by Israeli forces, and furthermore, the deadly confrontations in the West Bank and Gaza which had resulted in 6 dead and approximately 40 injured among the Palestinian civilian population. But now we have before us new and extremely serious events which have shocked us all. Indeed today in Jerusalem, in front of the mosques, clashes in which unarmed Palestinian civilians were pitted against Israeli forces, apparently joined by many Israeli civilians who came from settlement camps, ended in a most tragic manner. The toll weighs heavily on the occupier. On the Palestinian side, approximately 20 dead and about 300 injured have so far been counted. Several

(Mr. Blanc, France)

victims were shot with real bullets. On the Israeli side, according to official sources, three border guards were wounded by stone-throwing.

Our Council cannot remain passive. It is important that it have urgent access to on-the-spot information if it is to carry out its work diligently, so that the international community might be in a position as soon as possible to take a position on the ways and means of ensuring effective protection for the Palestinian people. To this end my delegation is prepared to consider any proposal along those lines.

France also believes that the Council must once again firmly urge Israel to respect fully the obligations that the Geneva Convention on the Protection of Civilians in Time of War makes incumbent upon the occupying Power. It is the responsibility of our Council to prevent the risk of an explosion in the situation, with unimaginable consequences in a regional context already fraught with danger.

The situation confronting us is the result of a total absence of political prospects. Israel must open up prospects for a comprehensive settlement. That is the only way to meet the expectations of populations frustrated by years of repression and to create conditions for the establishment of peace, stability and development, which are desired by the States and peoples of the region. Indeed it is important that dialogue should prevail over violence.

In this regard, the clashes that we have just witnessed emphasize once again the need for the proposed international conference, which, in our view, constitutes the best approach for settling the problems with which we find ourselves confronted.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of France for his kind words about the presidency.

Mr. FORTIER (Canada): Sir, allow me to begin my remarks this afternoon by congratulating you most warmly on your assumption of the presidency of the Council. I am sure that your many years of experience in the conduct of multilateral diplomacy will serve you well in the month of October as you discharge your functions, and I wish to assure you of my full co-operation and that of the members of my delegation to that end. I should also like to take this occasion to pay a tribute to your predecessor as President of the Council, Ambassador Vorontsov of the Soviet Union, who guided our deliberations with such a deft hand during what proved to be a historic month in the history of the Council.

This meeting had originally been called to permit members of the Council to express their concerns about the demolition of Palestinian housing and stores in Gaza by Israeli defence forces, an action taken after the horrible killing of an Israeli soldier in a Gaza refugee camp. As we condemn the senseless death of an Israeli soldier, so too do we hold that the demolition of housing, an act of collective punishment of the Palestinian population, serves only to strengthen enmity on both sides. Canada considers such demolitions to be absolutely prohibited under article 53 of the Fourth Geneva Convention.

Those events have, regrettably, been overtaken by other developments. The violence and the sequence of events which occurred earlier today in Jerusalem, which is home to three of the world's great religions, are to be condemned. We express our grave reservations about the degree of force used by the Israeli authorities in responding to these incidents. The toll of dead and injured continues to rise; the atmosphere prevailing continues to be one of heightened tension and the threat of incipient violence. Violence and retribution are never acceptable courses of action, and this is more true than ever today, when peace in the entire region is hanging by a tenuous thread.

(Mr. Fortier, Canada)

Restraint must be our watchword in the coming days and weeks. Respect for the religious status quo in Jerusalem and the avoidance of acts likely to inflame passions must be part of that restraint. Now, more than ever, efforts must be concentrated vigorously on the search for paths to peace, a peace which will allow all the peoples of the region, irrespective of their religious beliefs, to live in harmony with one another. As the Secretary of State for External Affairs of Canada stated in his address to the General Assembly on 26 September:

> "A just and lasting negotiated solution based on Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973) and the legitimate rights of the Palestinians, including their right to self-determination, is more vital now than ever." (A/45/PV.9, p. 23)

The international community must commit itself to finding such a viable peace process now.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Canada for the kind words he addressed to me and the presidency.

Mr. TÖRNUDD (Finland): Sir, I take great pleasure in congratulating you on the accession of the United Kingdom to the presidency of the Security Council for the month of October. We know that you approach your duties as President with a wealth of valuable experience. My delegation pledges its full co-operation with you in your responsible task and wishes you every success.

(Mr. Törnudd, Finland)

At the same time, I wish to express our best thanks to your predecessor, Ambassador Yuri Vorontsov of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, for his expert handling of the work of the presidency during September. We also remember with gratitude that the presidency was assumed by Mr. Eduard Shevardnadze, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, at the meeting on 25 September.

Once again we have gathered to discuss the grave situation in the occupied Palestinian territories as well as the plight and frustration of the Palestinian civilians living under occupation. Once again we are requesting Israel, the occupying Power, scrupulously to respect the Fourth Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons and to refrain from any acts against the letter and spirit of that Convention. And once again we emphasize the urgent need for a peaceful settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict on the basis of Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973), as well as on the basis of the legitimate national rights of the Palestinians and of guaranteeing the right of all States in the area, including Israel, to secure and recognized boundaries.

And again we repeat that the political will of the Palestinians living under occupation for almost a quarter of a century cannot be suppressed forever. In the midst of important changes for the better in the world, the Israeli-Palestinian conflict remains unresolved. The basis for co-existence and mutual confidence between the Palestinians and the Israelis remains to be laid. The serious developments in the Bureij refugee camp in Gaza and today's very alarming news from Jerusalem again tragically remind us of this fact.

Since the Council last considered the question of the occupied territories, another crisis has emerged in the region. In spite of the acute and very dangerous crisis caused by the occupation of Kuwait, we cannot and must not neglect the problems of the Palestinians. The Palestinian question remains an unresolved

(Mr. Törnudd, Finland)

problem that has to be seriously addressed if the foundations for security in the region are to be established. In the meantime, Israel is under the responsibility to comply fully with the provisions of the Fourth Geneva Convention, and duty-bound to look for effective ways and means to protect the Palestinian civilians. The excessive force used in Jerusalem today shows a most serious disregard of the norms of international law by the occupying Power.

At the same time as the national aspirations of the Palestinians are being suppressed, the destruction of an independent Member of the United Nations continues. In this connection, I should like to emphasize one thing: full restoration of the sovereignty of Kuwait must not depend on any conditions.

With East-West tensions left behind, with unprecedented unanimity in the Security Council, we, the members of the Council and the Members of the United Nations, have to face problems as they are rather than as we wish them to be. But they all have to be seriously addressed. The United Nations and its Members have perhaps never before in the history of the Organization had better chances for that.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Finland for his kind words.

Mr. MUNTEANU (Romania): As this is the first formal occasion on which Romania will have addressed the Security Council during the month of October, I take the opportunity to congratulate you warmly, Sir, on having assumed the presidency of this body. I am confident that under your able guidance the Security Council will make progress in the examination of the extremely complex and delicate issues on the agenda.

I should also like to express the appreciation of my delegation to your predecessor, Ambassador Vorontsov, for the dignified and dedicated manner in which he guided the work of the Council in September.

(Mr. Munteanu, Romania)

We are again considering the item entitled "The situation in the occupied Arab territories" in the light of recent events in the area. I have to stress from the outset that the cycle of violence in the occupied territories serves only to increase the difficulties in reaching a lasting settlement to the conflict there.

Nevertheless, we still believe that the situation in the Middle East, so preoccupying and so worrisome for all of us for so long, can and should be settled in a mutually satisfactory manner by the parties involved. In this respect, I would like to reiterate the position expressed on the issue by my delegation in Geneva, where we pointed out that it is necessary for all the countries and peoples involved in the conflict to act in good faith and to come to the negotiating table in order to find solutions both acceptable and reflecting respective interests, including self-determination for the peoples in the area. That could be a major contribution to the implementation of a lasting peace in the Middle East.

As on earlier occasions, the Government of Romania took note with profound concern of the incidents and acts of violence that occurred recently and today in the occupied Arab territories. Those tragic events resulted in many dead and wounded among the Palestinian population. We would like to state again our clear disapproval of any indiscriminate and disproportionate use of force, which only stirs tensions and encourages further violence. Only a firm commitment to the principles of negotiation and peaceful solution can lead to an eventual settlement of the situation in the Middle East.

Therefore, we solemnly ask all parties involved to refrain from any acts that could worsen the situation in the area and to follow the path of peace by adopting measures that will prevent the recurrence of such dramatic incidents. Any appeal for the prolongation of violent confrontation will lead to an escalation of the conflict. Instead, we advocate peaceful means, with the understanding that the

(Mr. Munteanu, Romania)

halt to the violence in the region will be achieved only by a general settlement of the Middle East crisis.

At the same time, we share the view that the Council should assume its responsibility in promoting and defending world peace by ensuring the implementation of pertinent resolutions of the General Assembly and the Council itself. Those documents clearly state the necessity to withdraw from territories occupied after the 1967 War, respect for Palestinian rights and firm guarantees for the security of all the States in the area. No party should be allowed to jeopardize world peace by trying to promote its own interests by means of force of any sort.

My delegation wishes to reaffirm the commitment of Romania to the relevant United Nations resolutions, including in particular Security Council resolution 465 (1980). The situation of the populations in the occupied Arab territories should be considered in the broader framework of the Palestinian problem. We favour dialogue on that issue and believe that pressures and acts of force, irrespective of which side they come from, are not able to encourage the identification of a viable solution. The maintenance of tension in the occupied Arab territories is not the way to a climate of peace.

From a more general point of view, the situation in the occupied Arab territories reconfirms the urgency of finding a political solution in keeping with the requirements of international legality. The Council should again call for a complete cessation of any act of violence. The human losses and the large number of victims only serve to fuel a conflict that has lasted too long.

(Mr. Munteanu, Romania)

We also support the exercise of the good offices of the Secretary-General, whose dedication to a comprehensive and lasting peace settlement in the whole area of the Middle East is well known.

We are prepared to discuss with other members of the Council any option by which the United Nations could help alleviate the situation prevailing in the occupied territories. In that regard, we express the hope that the Council will identify constructive consensus solutions that could receive the full co-operation of all the parties to the conflict. My delegation pledges its support to the efforts undertaken to that end.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Romania for his kind remarks towards me.

The next speaker is the representative of Algeria. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. BENDJAMA (Algeria) (interpretation from French): I have the honour to speak today on behalf of the delegations of the States of the Union of the Arab Maghreb: the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, the Islamic Republic of Mauritania, the Republic of Tunisia, the Kingdom of Morocco and the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria.

Allow me at the outset to say how pleased we are to see you, Sir, presiding over the work of the Security Council. Since your recent appointment as head of the United Kingdom Mission to the United Nations, you have confirmed your reputation as a skilful and competent diplomat. We are sure that during this crucial period in the Council's history you will make an outstanding contribution.

To your predecessor, Ambassador Yuliy Vorontzov of the Soviet Union, I should like to extend my congratulations on the efficiency with which he guided the Council's work last month and on the meticulous preparation for the Security

(Mr. Bendjama, Algeria)

Council meeting at the ministerial level on 25 September of this year, at which Mr. Shevardnadze presided.

That ministerial-level meeting of the Security Council was an important event. It demonstrated an unprecedented will to discuss and formulate a consensus on how to deal with highly complex situations. The international community has seen that, when there is determination, the Security Council can act very quickly to establish measures for the restoration of international peace and security.

Many of us have seen in the Council's cohesiveness a foreshadowing of what we might call a new world order. We certainly hope that this new world order will come about, but it cannot truly be said to exist unless it is based on strict respect for the rules of law governing international relations. It will have no meaning unless it leads to ridding the world of all injustices, and hence of all the sources of tension that continue to threaten international peace and security.

The convening of an urgent meeting of the Security Council to consider the situation in the occupied Palestinian territories was necessary, indeed more than necessary. The Council has an obligation to show that the crisis in the Gulf cannot be used as a pretext to give Israel a free hand to do as it pleases or to divert attention from the continuing tragedy of the Palestinian people.

This very day, 8 October 1990, 23 Palestinians were killed and more than 700 others wounded by bullets on the esplanade of the Al-Aqsa Mosque. Families were prevented from removing the bodies of the martyred, and the Israeli army prohibited blood donations for the care of the wounded. Since the outbreak of the intifadah in December 1987, the mindlessness of the implacable policy of repression officially being carried out by the Israeli occupying authorities has been matched only by its extreme brutality. Each passing day adds to the heavy and revealing toll of victims and to the sufferings and hardships inflicted upon the Palestinian people.

(Mr. Bendjama, Algeria)

In response to the determination of the Palestinian people to resist and to struggle relentlessly to recover their legitimate national rights, we are witnessing an ever-mounting escalation of repression. Whole regions have been subjected to curfew, often for days, thus depriving tens of thousands of civilians of food and basic care. Collective punishments, administrative internments - 60,000 since October 1987 - and the dynamiting of houses all continue apace.

These facts are now well known and well documented. The statement made by the Chairman of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People shed an instructive light on them. Every paragraph of the interim report submitted on 12 June by the Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices Affecting the Human Rights of the Palestinian People and Other Arabs of the Occupied Territories is a damning indictment. Elsewhere too, cries of indignation have been heard on all sides, denouncing the organized injustice and terror.

Governments, including those of the members of the Security Council, intergovernmental organizations, independent groups, humanitarian organizations and the media have all spoken out, and it is now up to the Council, in its new-found unanimity, to demonstrate that it can no longer tolerate the intolerable. Foreign occupation does exist in Palestine. In Palestine there is indeed a people to be helped and protected, and in Palestine there also exists a serious threat to international peace and security.

Even as the Security Council takes up this question, the unlawful Israeli policy of colonization and mass settlement through emigration from the Soviet Union, in Al-Quds in particular, is continuing, in flagrant violation of the Fourth

(Mr. Bendjama, Algeria)

Geneva Convention of 12 August 1949 and of Security Council resolution 465 (1980), which, need I repeat, was adopted by the Council unanimously.

It would be something new in this sorely troubled region of the Middle East if the Council were to adopt a firm attitude and take appropriate action in keeping with its responsibilities under the Charter of the United Nations. As we speak here today, we dare to hope that the Council's attitude of diligence and firmness is not something that varies with circumstances, that it is not selective and that it will be evidenced systematically in every situation in which universally accepted principles must be defended or legitimate rights restored.

As to the question of Palestine, we can now hope that the Council will no longer be satisfied with timid expressions of disapproval or - as has happened on all too few occasions - with merely echoing the feelings of an international community outraged by the inhuman actions of the Israeli occupiers.

Having admirably inaugurated its new attitude of firmness by resorting for the first time to the provisions of Chapter VII of the Charter, the Security Council can no longer do less for the Palestinian people, nor can it satisfy the international community, and Arab public opinion in particular, with semantic niceties or decisions without any real impact.

(Mr. Bendjama, Algeria)

It is now necessary, I would even say imperative, for the Council to act with equal firmness and determination in the face of all situations where inadmissible acts have been committed, where fundamental rights have been denied and where the simple right to existence is all too often flouted.

Quite clearly the adoption by the Council of measures to protect the Palestinian people is a matter of urgency. In the face of the tragedy of the Palestinian civilian populations, it is incomprehensible that two years and ten months after the report of the Secretary-General, document S/19443, submitted in accordance with Security Council resolution 605 (1987), should remain unimplemented.

It is our conviction that, in adopting as a matter of urgency, measures of protection as recommended by the report of the Secretary-General, the Security Council would be contributing to the creation of better conditions for the settlement of the question of Palestine, which is the only course to lasting peace and stability in the Middle East.

In this context, the Council cannot indefinitely fail to undertake efforts to convene an international peace conference on the Middle East, with the participation, on an equal footing with the other parties, of the Palestine Liberation Organization, the sole and legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. That conference is now the only appropriate framework in which the requirements of peace can be met, based on the national aspirations of the Palestinian people and particularly their right to establish a sovereign State.

A draft resolution will soon be presented to the Council. That text advocates simple and non-controversial action by our Organization to protect Palestinians under Israeli occupation. But let there be no mistake about the Council's attitude towards this draft; its perception of what is required and its credibility are at stake.

(Mr. Bendjama, Algeria)

Firmness and determination by the Security Council in the Gulf crisis, which, I stress, the States of the Arab Maghreb Union, would like to see settled by a political and peaceful solution, in keeping with the international legitimacy the Council embodies, will now be required - and we intend to demand that when the time comes - in dealing with all aspects of the Palestinian question. In fact, the entire Arab world, for which the Palestinian cause has always been sacred, and the entire international community, will demand that justice finally be done to the Palestinian people, which has suffered for so long.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Algeria for his kind words addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of Yugoslavia. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. SILOVIC (Yugoslavia): Let me at the outset, congratulate you, Sir, the Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom, on the assumption of the presidency of the Security Council. Since you come from a country whose diplomacy has always been known for its skill and knowledge of world affairs, there is no doubt in my mind that you will successfully guide the proceedings of this Council during the month of October.

My appreciation also goes to Mr. Eduard Shevardnadze, Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union, and Mr. Yuliy Vorontsev, Ambassador of the Soviet Union, for the constructive manner and resolve with which they conducted the Council's deliberations during the very busy month of September.

I should like to address the Council as the representative of Yugoslavia, which is also current Chairman of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries.

We are meeting here today at the time characterized by the end of the cold war and by the beginning of the creation of a new system of international relations.

(Mr. Silovic, Yugoslavia)

However, certain old controversies and problems continue to persist and there are also new serious threats to peace and security in some regions.

One of the glaring examples is the situation in the Middle East, and particularly the problem of Palestine, which is at its core. In this region, already plagued by many troubles, the outbreak of the crisis in the Persian Gulf has exacerbated the tension and brought about even greater instability. Despite dangerous developments in the Gulf, which rightfully have been the focus of the preoccupation of the entire international community and the Security Council, international attention must not be diverted from the Middle East crisis and the question of Palestine.

The Foreign Ministers of non-aligned countries, at their meeting on 4 October, just last week, adopted a statement on the crisis in the Persian Gulf in which they, inter alia, emphasized that:

> "The prompt solution of the crisis in the Persian Gulf should contribute to having the international community approach with equal determination and urgency the Arab-Israeli conflict, at the core of which is the problem of Palestine, in order to achieve a just and lasting solution of this long-standing crisis in the Middle East".

The non-aligned countries believe that it is the right time for the Council to take concrete and effective action to reactivate the peace process to resolve the Arab-Israeli conflict.

In that belief we are reinforced by statements made by numerous Presidents and Foreign Ministers in the General Assembly, including those by the President of the United States of America and the Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union, as well as by the constructive manner in which members of the Security Council are acting together to resolve some other regional conflicts. The recent common statement

(Mr. Silovic, Yugoslavia)

issued by the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the five permanent members of the Security Council is of particular importance. They reaffirmed their determination to support an active negotiating process in the Middle East in which all relevant parties would participate, leading to a comprehensive, just and lasting peace.

The Movement of Non-Aligned Countries attaches great importance to reviving and furthering the peace process in the Middle East. The position of my country and other non-aligned countries is that a solution is possible only on the basis of the full realization of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people to self-determination, including the establishment of their own State, the withdrawal of Israel from all the territories occupied since 1967, the right of all States in the region to live in peace and security within internationally recognized boundaries, and the right of Palestinian refugees to return.

All this shows that there is much common ground in the positions of all international factors with the sole exception of the Government of Israel, and that consensus is gradually emerging on the essential principles for a solution of the question of Palestine. We maintain that the Security Council should proceed, as a matter of urgency, to prepare the convening of the international peace conference on the Middle East under the auspices of the United Nations, with the participation, on an equal footing, of all the parties directly concerned, including the Palestine Liberation Organization, as well as the five permanent members.

The recent experience in the Security Council indicates that, given the necessary political will, the Council is able to achieve consensus on an important matter of concern to the international community. Therefore, Yugoslavia encourages and supports every effort by the permanent and other members of the Security

(Mr. Silovic, Yugoslavia)

Council to bring the positions of the parties to the Arab-Israeli conflict closer to each other, to create a climate of confidence between them, and to facilitate in this way the convening and successful outcome of the international peace conference.

(Mr. Silovic, Yugoslavia)

Pending progress towards a political settlement, all necessary measures should be taken immediately to protect the Palestinian people in the occupied territories. Yugoslavia, along with other non-aligned countries, rightly expects that the Security Council will take a resolute stand on the implementation of its own resolutions and the provisions of the Fourth Geneva Convention, to which Israel's practices in and policy of settlement of the occupied Palestinian territories stand in sharp contrast.

Recent Israeli actions have led to increased suffering for the Palestinian people and to the worsening of their living conditions. The alarming reports received today from Jerusalem on the tragic loss of life among the Palestinians and on the use of firearms against the Palestinian population, resulting in many more wounded, make it even more urgent for the Security Council to take action to protect the Palestinians in the occupied territories. The non-aligned countries expect that the current meetings of the Security Council will make a significant contribution to that end.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Yugoslavia for his opening remarks about the presidency.

The next speaker is the representative of Jordan. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. SALAH (Jordan) (interpretation from Arabic): As this is the first time that I address you in your capacity as the President of the Security Council since you assumed the duties of Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom to the United Nations. It gives me pleasure to convey to you our congratulations on your assumption of that post and of the presidency of the Security Council for this month. We wish you every success in leading the Council's deliberations, and we are convinced that your skill and wisdom will make a major contribution to the Council's work.

(Mr. Salah, Jordan)

I wish to convey to your predecessor, His Excellency Mr. Yuliy Vorontsov, Permanent Representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, our appreciation for his skilful leadership of the Council's deliberations last month.

Once again Israel has shocked the world by perpetrating this morning yet another massacre in the occupied Arab territories. It is a truly tragic coincidence that Israel should have perpetrated such an ugly crime against the Palestinian citizens of Holy Jerusalem - Al-Quds - on the very day the Security Council was meeting to consider the situation in the Palestinian and other occupied Arab territories, including Jerusalem.

According to early information received, Palestinians in Jerusalem had prior knowledge of the intention of an Israeli extremist religious group known as Guardians of the Temple to enter the Al-Aqsa mosque with the purpose of laying the corner-stone of the so-called Third Jewish Temple. That was the reason why a number of Muslim inhabitants of Jerusalem met in the Al-Aqsa mosque this morning to protect the Holy Site and foil the group's criminal plan.

When members of the group attempted, under the protection of Israeli forces, to force their way into the Al-Aqsa mosque, they were confronted by the Muslims, who prevented them from entering. Then, large numbers of Israeli troops, police and border forces, with helicopter gunship support, invaded the courtyard of the Al-Aqsa mosque, fired live ammunition and rubber bullets very intensively and at random. Large numbers of tear-gas canisters were fired at the Palestinians inside the mosque. The result was more than 20 dead and hundreds of wounded.

Not content with that, the Israeli forces prevented Palestinians from donating blood to hospitals and detained large numbers of them.

The horrific nature of this criminal Israeli action stems, not only from the fact that it was taken without provocation or justification, but also from the fact that its site was the Al-Aqsa mosque, the third Holy Site of Islam. It was

(Mr. Salah, Jordan)

preceded by a first act of Israeli aggression which was carried out by another extremist religious group against the same Holy Site. So, in effect, there have been two consecutive Israeli acts of aggression punctuated by one peaceful attempt by Palestinians to protect a place that is venerated as a Holy Site by more than one billion Muslims throughout the world as well as the Palestinians in Jerusalem.

This criminal racist event is yet another example of the repressive, aggressive practices perpetrated by Israel in the occupied Palestinian territories in violation of all international norms and covenants, including the Fourth Geneva Convention, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the two International Covenants. It also flies in the face of the most fundamental principles of civilized behaviour by States.

One may wonder up to when will Israel continue to commit such acts of aggression and trample under foot all human principles and principles of international law? How long will the world continue to condone such Israeli crimes? How long will they go unpunished? Is it not time for the Security Council to take the necessary measures to ensure the security of Palestinian citizens and to protect them from these repeated acts of aggression? It is indeed time.

For the past two months, the entire world, including my country, Jordan, has been making intensive efforts to put an end to the terrible crisis in our region. At the same time, we note that Israel's policies continue to be based on continued occupation, inhuman practices and the building of settlements in the occupied territories in which to absorb new immigrants who further complicate the problem.

Despite the gravity of the question of Israeli practices in the occupied territories, they are merely one aspect of the basic question of Palestine. The entire world has come to realize that the question of Palestine is the core of the

(Mr. Salah, Jordan)

Arab-Israeli conflict and that it is not merely a problem of inhuman practices to be resolved by making Israel stop committing such acts. It is not merely a problem of refugees who must be resettled. It is a question of an entire people whose land has been usurped, whose rights have been flouted, a third of which lives in a diaspora and the rest under occupation.

(Mr. Salah, Jordan)

Unless and until a just and lasting settlement to this question is reached on the basis of United Nations resolutions, the Arab-Israeli dispute will continue and it will pose a real threat to peace and security in the Middle East and the world.

More than four decades have now passed, and the Arab-Israel dispute and its crux, the Palestinian question, are still with us. Over those four decades there have been a number of destructive wars in the Middle East region in addition to a constant state of tension, violence and instability which has caused great suffering to the peoples of the region, particularly the Palestinian people. Development and progress have been blocked. The United Nations and in particular the Security Council have adopted many resolutions on the dispute. None of them have been implemented, because Israel refuses to abide by them. For well-known reasons the Council has been unable to compel Israel to respect its obligations under the Charter and implement those resolutions.

The emergence of détente in international relations and the recent end to the cold war have eliminated one of the reasons which used to prevent the Council from carrying out its duties under the Charter. Now the Council could discharge those duties effectively and decisively. We in Jordan can only welcome this positive development, for which we have been constantly appealing and which we have always desired. The improvement in the international climate has led to radical changes in Europe, which have astonished the world. The most recent event was the reunification of the two Germanys a few days ago.

This improvement in international relations has had positive effects on a number of focal points of conflict in the world, such as Namibia, Cambodia and Central America. There are many who now speak of a new international order based on the rule of law and respect for international legitimacy as enshrined in United Nations resolutions.

The unprecedented efficacy with which the Security Council has responded to

(Mr. Salah, Jordan)

the present crisis in the Gulf region is a further demonstration of the new climate in the world today. The Council was indeed quick to respond with firm resolutions and with measures to ensure their implementation. We wish to view this as one of the results of the political climate that has now emerged. We believe this climate must be reflected as forcefully in addressing all disputes, whether they be new or old. This efficacy will be the yardstick with which the Council's action on other problems will be measured.

The Gulf crisis has been a landmark in the Security Council's history. We hope - indeed, we expect - that the way in which the Council deals with the present issue will also be a clear landmark, an indicator that a new world has indeed emerged and that it will be a world in which fixed standards and principles will be applied to similar situations, and not knee-jerk reactions to particular problems.

The process in regard to the Gulf crisis indeed constitutes a landmark in the Security Council's history. We hope - indeed, we expect - that the way in which the Council deals with the present issue will also be a clear landmark of a new world in which firm standards and principles will be applied to various situations, rather than separate reactions to particular problems.

We wish to see the positive consequences of the present international détente extended to the Middle East region. The concern shown by the Security Council for the maintenance of peace and security in one region of the world must be shown also in regard to other regions of the world. International security is indivisible; world peace must be comprehensive.

The time has come for the Security Council to make Israel understand that its obduracy and prevarication must end, that it must heed the voice of reason and world appeals for the solution of this problem, that it must accept international legitimacy as the basis for such a solution.

We call on the Security Council to condemn the crime committed by Israel this

(Mr. Salah, Jordan)

morning. We call for effective measures to ensure the security and safety of Palestinians under occupation. At the same time, we repeat that it is not international protection that will solve the problem. That can only be viewed as a temporary measure pending a peaceful, just, lasting and comprehensive solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict and its crux, the Palestinian question.

We call on the Security Council to engage urgently in intensive consultations on the convening of an international peace conference on the Middle East, in order to establish the framework and terms of reference for the conference. We appeal for the holding of the conference as soon as possible. We believe that convening it under the aegis of the United Nations, with the participation of all the parties concerned, including the Palestine Liberation Organization and the five permanent members of the Security Council, and on the basis of Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973) and the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, would open the door today to the settlement we have so longed for.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Jordan for his kind words about the presidency.

There are still a number of names inscribed on the list of speakers for this meeting, including mine in my national capacity. But I have noted that one common element runs through every single statement made in the Council today - that is, the urgency of the Council's reaching some conclusions.

Because the hour is advancing and because it is obviously necessary to have consultations with members of the Council in order to reach that desirable objective, I propose, with the concurrence of members, to adjourn this meeting now in order that such consultations may be held.

The next meeting of the Security Council to continue consideration of the item on the agenda will be fixed in consultation with the members of the Council.

The meeting rose at 6.10 p.m.